

On some phenomena of prosodic morphology in Italian: accorciamenti, hypocoristics and prosodic delimitation¹

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Abstract

This paper describes a number of phenomena of Italian in the framework of Prosodic Morphology, calling attention to morphological processes in which the minimal prosodic word plays an active role. In section 1, evidence is presented for the characterization of the Italian minimal word (of nominal class) as a disyllabic trochee ending in a vowel. Section 2 describes accorciamenti, that is, shortenings, in which the minimal word acts as a mapping target, to which the base is reduced. Accorciamenti usually retain the semantics of their base; they are often used as first members of compounds, and occasionally can be inflected and derived. Section 3 briefly calls attention to verb-verb compounding, in which the minimal word acts as a delimiter of the set of bases which can undergo the operation. Also hypocoristics (discussed in section 4) have the shape of a syllabic trochee ending in a vowel; here, the minimal word output is usually obtained either by accorciamento, or by circumscription of the rightmost foot in the base; in other cases,

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though, it is argued that the minimal word shape of some hypocoristics represents the emergence of an unmarked structure through child language processes, rather than through morphological processes active in adult language.

Introduction

The theory of Prosodic Morphology was introduced by McCarthy and Prince (1986, 1990) to deal with a number of morphological phenomena whose description can be achieved only if the role played by prosodic categories and prosodic constituency is recognized. Recently, McCarthy and Prince have characterized Prosodic Morphology as "morphology that is prosody-governed", where "phonological constraints take precedence over morphological ones" (McCarthy and Prince 1993a: 6).

The main phenomena addressed by Prosodic Morphology have been reduplication and phenomena of non-concatenative morphology, such as the root-and-pattern morphology of Semitic languages. Other phenomena whose understanding has largely benefited from the central insight of Prosodic Morphology, that is, the relevance of prosodic structure in defining the domain and/or the output of certain morphological rules, are so-called truncation phenomena, that is, processes by which a word is shortened (the output of a morphological process coincides with a substring of the base to which the process applies). A number of papers on phenomena of shortening, most notably hypocoristic formation (Poser 1990; Mester 1990; Itô 1991), have substantially contributed to the development of the theory of Prosodic Morphology.

Recently, phenomena of Prosodic Morphology have also been described in some Romance languages: Prieto (1992) describes truncation processes in Spanish in the framework of Prosodic Morphology, Crowhurst (1992) proposes a prosodic analysis of Diminutive and Augmentative formation in Mexican Spanish, and Scullen (1993) offers a comprehensive treatment of the Prosodic Morphology of French, covering abbreviations, reduplications, hypocoristics and echo-words.²

The purpose of the present paper is to call attention (for the first time, to the best of my knowledge) to the existence of prosodically governed morphological phenomena in Italian. Two sets of Italian nominal forms, *accorciamenti* (lit. "shortenings"; hereafter not italicized) and hypocoristics, will be described, and it will be argued that they are derived through prosodic-morphological rules.

The paper is organized as follows: as it is argued that *accorciamenti* conform

2. Phenomena of shortening in French are also discussed, in different theoretical frameworks, by Plénat (1984), Kilani-Schoch (forthcoming) and Ronneberger-Sibold (forthcoming), among others.

to a minimal word template, in section 1 independent evidence is presented for the characterization of the Italian minimal word (of nominal class); section 2 describes the derivation of *accorciamenti* as mapping of the base to a minimal word prosodic template of the form of a syllabic trochee, and discusses the place of *accorciamenti* in Italian morphology, with reference to inflection, derivation and compounding, and their relation to other phenomena of Italian, such as suffix truncation and haplology; in section 3 a case in which prosodic delimitation operates to define the domain of a word formation process is signalled; section 4 deals with a prosodic-morphological process responsible for the creation of hypocoristics through prosodic circumscription of the rightmost foot in the base. Other hypocoristics, which are better understood as the survival of frozen child language forms in adult language, rather than as the product of prosodic-morphological rules, are also discussed. Some concluding remarks are offered in section 5.

1. The minimal prosodic word in Italian

It is an established fact that many languages posit minimality requirements on the size of given morphological constituents (roots, stems, words and even affixes: cf. McCarthy and Prince 1990; Golston 1991). Usually, a language's minimal word (belonging to one of the major lexical categories) coincides with a foot.³

In this section the minimal prosodic word of the nominal class in Italian will be characterized; it will be shown that it has the shape of a syllabic trochee, that is, a foot of two syllables with stress on the first one, with a further condition requiring that the word end in a vowel. The three requirements of disyllabicity, vowel ending and trochaic stress will be illustrated separately.

1.1. Disyllabicity

The minimal nominal prosodic word in Italian is disyllabic.

I have examined a database on the Italian Basic Vocabulary (De Mauro 1991; Thornton; Iacobini and Burani 1994), which contains over 7000 words,⁴ and

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3. The need for a prosodic word to contain at least one foot is in line with the Strict Layering Hypothesis (Selkirk 1984; Nespor and Vogel 1986), that is, the requirement that all prosodic constituents be dominated by a constituent of the next higher level in the prosodic hierarchy. As *prosodic word* directly dominates *foot* in the prosodic hierarchy, the minimal requirement for a prosodic word is to contain one foot, and one foot is enough to constitute a prosodic word.
 4. Among the 7,521 words in the Italian Basic Vocabulary, 36.8% are underived, 27.3% are suffixed, 18.7% are conversions or zero-derivations, 11.9% are prefixed and 5.3% are

have found only 49 monosyllabic nouns and adjectives (less than 1% of the database). Among these are 15 names of the letters of the alphabet (*a, bi, ci*, etc.), seven names of musical notes (*do, re, mi*, etc.), 24 loanwords (such as *nord, sud, est*) and the three words *don, sor* and *re* 'king'.

Loanwords are of course not relevant for establishing minimality requirements on the native stratum words. The names of the letters of the alphabet and of the musical notes (which are, in any case, loanwords from Latin) belong to closed lexical classes, which escape minimality or are in other ways non-canonical in other languages also (see McCarthy and Prince (1990: 212) for Arabic, Orgun and Inkelas 1992 for Turkish). *Don, sor* and *re* are true exceptions to disyllabicity. It is important to notice that these three words are either exclusively (*don, sor*) or mostly (*re*) used as a title before a proper name (*don Carlo, sor Capanna, re Vittorio*): *don* is used before the first name of Catholic priests and, in southern Italy, as an honorific before the first name of old and/or important men; *sor* is used in central Italy before men's names (it is a reduced form of *signor* 'mister'). One could hypothesize that these words attach proclitically to the proper name they precede, so that they are not an autonomous phonological word. But this is certainly not always true of *re* 'king', which can occur freely as the head of a N", like "normal" nouns. Moreover, *don* and *sor*, which always occur before a proper name, nevertheless (at least in my own variety of Italian) display a low mid vowel /ɔ/, which is a symptom of primary word stress (cf. Nespor 1985: 199, 1993). Therefore, it is hard to maintain that these words are proclitics. Also, perusal of a larger data base reveals further cases of monosyllabic nouns (for example, *gru* 'crane'). Nevertheless, it is very clear that monosyllabic nouns represent an exception in the Italian lexicon. We can thus establish disyllabicity as a minimality requirement for Italian nouns.⁵

compounds; further information on the internal composition of the Italian Basic Vocabulary can be found in Thornton, Iacobini and Burani (1994) and in Iacobini and Thornton (1994).

5. A slightly different situation holds among Italian verbs, as there are a number of very frequent monosyllabic stems and inflected forms, such as *è* 'is', *va* 'go!s/he goes', *fa* 'do!s/he does, s/he makes', *sta* 'stay!s/he is, s/he stays', *da* 'give!s/he gives'. Therefore I limit my claim of disyllabicity of the minimal prosodic word to the nominal subclass of the lexicon. However, I think it worth noticing that all monosyllabic verbal forms belong to auxiliary verbs or to verbs which have come to acquire a status of function words, used in grammaticalized periphrastic constructions such as *andare perduto* 'to be wasted', *star facendo* 'to be doing', *far perdere* 'to make someone lose something', *fare ricorso* 'to make use of', *dare ascolto* [to give hearing] 'to listen', etc. Therefore, maybe we can extend the disyllabicity requirement also to verbs, but only to lexical verbs, excluding verbs which also have grammatical functions in the language. Further data on the possibility of an active minimal word template of the same shape of the nominal one for verbs are discussed in section 3.

1.2. Vowel ending

The minimal prosodic word of nominal class in Italian ends in a vowel.

Words ending in a consonant represent less than 1% of the lemmata in the Italian Basic Vocabulary (Thornton, Iacobini and Burani 1994), and less than 3% of the lemmata appearing in a reverse index of the Italian lexicon (Ratti, Marconi, Morgavi and Rolando 1989, which contains about 45,000 words). All the C-final words listed in these dictionaries belong to one of the following categories: loanwords, interjections and onomatopoeic words, acronyms and blends, words not belonging to major lexical categories. Examples are the following: loanwords such as *club*, *apartheid*, *gulag*, *chef*, interjections and onomatopoeic words such as *uff*, *tic-tac*, *ciak*, acronyms such as *TAC* 'CAT scan', blends such as *colf* 'domestic help' (<*collaboratrice familiare*), closed class words such as the article *il* 'the', and the prepositions *in* 'in', *con* 'with', *per* 'for'.⁶

The requisite for an Italian prosodic word of nominal class to end in a vowel is shown also by "repair strategies" imposed on loanwords, which sometimes, at least in the speech of uneducated speakers in Central and Southern Italy, take up a paragodic vowel, as in *sporte* < *sport*, *tramme* < *tram*, *gasse* < *gas*, *cognacche* < *cognac* (cf. Rohlfs 1966-69, sect. 335, Lepschy and Lepschy 1981: 64).

1.3. Accentuation

In the database containing the Italian Basic Vocabulary (Thornton, Iacobini and Burani 1994), 96.8% of the disyllabic words are trochaic, and only 3.2% are iambic. Among the scholars who have discussed the Italian stress facts, in different theoretical frameworks, there is wide agreement that the Italian stress system is fundamentally trochaic.

A disyllabic trochaic foot ending in a vowel is the output or the domain of a number of prosodic morphological phenomena which will be illustrated below.

6. In addition, a word ending in a consonant can be the output of postlexical rules in Italian. Various rules can yield such a result: (a) a final mid vowel can be deleted if the preceding consonant is a nasal or a liquid, yielding forms such as *andiam* < *andiamo* 'we go/let's go', *vengon* < *vengono* 'they come', *vuol* < *vuole* 's/he wants', *far* < *fare* 'to do, to make'; (b) the final vowel of some nominal specifiers and adjectives is deleted in certain phonological environments: *quel bel* (< *quello bello*) *ragazzo* 'that beautiful boy'; (c) a /d/ can be inserted at the right edge of the conjunctions *e* 'and' and (more rarely) *o* 'or', and of the preposition *a* 'at/to', yielding *ed*, *od*, *ad*, if the following word begins with a vowel (cf., for example, *tu ed io* 'you and I' versus *io e te* 'me and you'). Cases (a) and (b) are thoroughly discussed in Nespor (1990).

2. The minimal word as template: "Accorciamenti"

The first Prosodic Morphology phenomenon of Italian I will describe has been dubbed "accorciamento", that is, shortening, by Migliorini (1963a: 33). It is a process of reduction of long names or nouns to a disyllabic form, where the referential meaning remains the same.⁷ As has been shown to be the case for similar phenomena in Japanese (Poser 1990; Mester 1990; Itô 1991), these shortened forms of Italian are better described as the result of mapping the base to a template, in our case coincident with the language's minimal prosodic word, than as truncation of part of the base.

2.1. Basic data

The relevant data are presented in (1): (1a) shows accorciamenti where the right edge of the output string does not coincide with a morphological boundary present in the base; (1b) shows accorciamenti where the right edge of the output string does coincide with a morphological boundary present in the base, but the meaning of the accorciamento, as in (1a), coincides with the meaning of the whole base, not with that of the homophonic morph, thus excluding the hypothesis that morpheme truncation or morpheme circumscription, rather than mapping to a prosodic template, is the operation at work; (1c) shows accorciamenti from personal names, nicknames and family names. I will discuss the relation of this last kind of accorciamento with other hypocoristics in section 4.^{8,9}

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7. In this paper I will not discuss the pragmatic and sociolinguistic conditions in which accorciamenti appear in texts and speech.
 8. Not all the forms listed in (1) are equally widespread in standard use. While words such as *bici*, *moto*, *foto*, *mini* are used by virtually all speakers, some accorciamenti are restricted to a given geographical area (for example, *auto* 'bus' is used in Rome, while *auto* 'car' is used in the north of Italy), and some (for example, *pattu*, *gine*) have been recorded only in informal conversations, sometimes uttered by only one speaker, although they appear completely well formed to me and other speakers I have consulted.
 9. Here and in the following examples, a source is given only for very recent forms, and for forms whose existence, I feel, would not be readily believed by all native speakers of Italian. I have made no attempt at reconstructing the first appearance of words which have been in use for a long time. For forms that have been produced by people I know, I indicate the person's initials and age, and the area where they live. I wish to thank here Andrea, Bonifacio, Franco, Miriam, Nico and Sergio, who have pointed out to me some of the examples. Transcription is in the standard orthography of Italian, in which stress is not marked when it falls on the penultimate syllable.

(1) Accorciamenti

a. Accorciamenti in which the right edge of the output string does not coincide with a morphological boundary present in the base:

Accorciamento	Base		Source
<i>ampli</i>	<i>ampl+ifica+tore</i>	'amplifier'	SS, 25, Cagliari
<i>bici</i>	<i>bi+cicl+etta</i>	'bicycle'	
<i>buon appe</i>	<i>buon appetito</i>	'Have a good meal'	MV, 35, Rome
<i>cine</i>	<i>cinemato+grafo</i>	'movie, cinema'	
<i>Dai, raga, basta!</i>	<i>Dai, ragazz+i, basta!</i>	'Come on, guys, stop that!'	¹⁰
<i>diapo</i>	<i>dia+positiva</i>	'slide'	Zingarelli (1994)
<i>due ore di mate</i>	<i>due ore di matem+atica</i>	'two hours of math'	¹¹
<i>frigo</i>	<i>frigori+fero</i>	'refrigerator'	
<i>gine</i>	<i>gineco+logo</i>	'gynecologist'	¹²
<i>meteo</i>	<i>meteoro+logico</i>	'concerning weather'	
<i>mitra</i>	<i>mitraglia+tore/</i> <i>mitraglia+trice</i>	'machine gun'	
<i>pattu</i>	<i>pattum+iera</i>	'garbage bin'	RT, 50, Pavia
<i>pome</i>	<i>pomeriggio</i>	'afternoon'	MV, 35, Rome
<i>sigar</i>	<i>sigar+etta</i>	'cigarette'	¹³
<i>smemo</i>	<i>s+memor+anda</i>	'brand of notebooks'	

b. Accorciamenti where the right edge of the output string coincides with a morphological boundary present in the base, but the meaning of the accorciamento coincides with the meaning of the whole base:

Accorciamento	Base		Source
<i>auto</i>	<i>autobus</i>	'bus'	
<i>auto</i>	<i>automobile</i>	'car'	
<i>biblio</i>	<i>biblioteca</i>	'library'	Banfi (1992: 53)
<i>dia</i>	<i>diapositiva</i>	'slide'	Volit (1987)
<i>flebo</i>	<i>fleboclisi</i>	'phleboclysis'	¹⁴
<i>foto</i>	<i>fotografia</i>	'snapshot'	
<i>moto</i>	<i>motocicletta</i>	'motorbike'	
<i>mini</i>	<i>minigonna</i>	'miniskirt'	
<i>stilo</i>	<i>stilografica</i>	'fountain pen'	
<i>tele</i> (FEM)	<i>televisione</i>	'TV'	
<i>tele</i> (MASC)	<i>televisione</i>	'TV movie'	SB, 50, Pavia
<i>psico</i>	<i>psicologa</i>	'psychologist'	FC, 30, Rome
<i>fisio</i>	<i>fisioterapia</i>	'physiotherapy'	EC, 36, Rome

10. Said during an anonymous phone call to *Radio Radicale*, 11/11/93.

11. From a letter to the satirical and political magazine *Cuore*, signed FB '75, 1/11/93.

12. From a transcription of a phone call published by *Cuore*, May 1993.

13. Part of the text of a song by Raf.

14. Franco Bottoni, radiology technician in a hospital in the Milan area, tells me that among his colleagues it is very common to shorten the names of the different examinations they perform, so that *una gastro* is a *gastroscopia* 'gastroscopy', and so on.

c. Accorciamenti from personal and family names:

i. From personal names

Accorciamento		Base
<i>Ale</i>		<i>Alessandro/a</i>
<i>Adri</i>		<i>Adriana/o</i>
<i>Anto</i>		<i>Antonella</i>
<i>Ele</i>	/ʔele/	<i>Eleonora</i>
<i>Emi</i>	/ʔemi/	<i>Emilia</i>
<i>Edo</i>	/ʔedo/	<i>Edoardo</i>
<i>Enri</i>	/ʔenri/	<i>Enrico</i>
<i>Isa</i>		<i>Isabella</i>
<i>Ori</i>	/ʔori/	<i>Orietta</i>
<i>Patri</i>		<i>Patrizia</i>
<i>Teo</i>		<i>Teodoro</i>
<i>Ceci</i>		<i>Cecilia</i>
<i>Cloti</i>		<i>Clotilde</i>
<i>Bea</i>	/ʔbea/	<i>Beatrice</i>
<i>Dona</i>	/ʔdona/	<i>Donatella</i>
<i>Dani</i>		<i>Daniele/a</i>
<i>Gianlu</i>		<i>Gianluca</i>
<i>Giando</i>		<i>Giandomenico</i>
<i>Giampi</i>		<i>Giampiero</i>
<i>Gianca</i>		<i>Giancarlo</i>
<i>Gabri</i>		<i>Gabriella</i>
<i>Fede</i>	/ʔfede/	<i>Federica</i>
<i>Fabri</i>		<i>Fabrizio</i>
<i>Salva</i>		<i>Salvatore</i>
<i>Simo</i>		<i>Simonetta, Simone</i>
<i>Virgi</i>		<i>Virginia</i>
<i>Vale</i>		<i>Valentina</i>
<i>Manu</i>		<i>Manuela</i>
<i>Mari</i>		<i>Maria</i>
<i>Marghe</i>		<i>Margherita</i>
<i>Marti</i>		<i>Martina</i>
<i>Nico</i>		<i>Nicola, Nicoletta</i>
<i>Raffa</i>		<i>Raffaele, Raffaella</i>

ii. From family names:

Accorciamento	Base	Notes and sources
<i>Ago</i>	<i>Agostini</i>	motorbike champion
<i>Bibo</i>	<i>Bibolotti</i>	pseudonym of Aladino Bibolotti
<i>Ciarra</i>	<i>Ciarrapico</i>	manager and politician
<i>Diba</i>	<i>Di Bartolomei</i>	soccer player; TG3, 30/5/94
<i>Loque</i>	<i>Loquenzi</i>	personal communication ¹⁵

15. The indication "personal communication" in the source column, throughout the paper, means that I have personal acquaintance with a person bearing the accorciamento, so that I consider the datum as acquired through a personal communication.

<i>Pilla</i>	<i>Pillarella</i>	personal communication
<i>Pilli</i>	<i>Pillitteri</i>	former mayor of Milan
<i>Pinci</i>	<i>Pincioli</i>	personal communication
<i>Rafa</i>	<i>Rafanelli</i>	personal communication
<i>Rava</i>	<i>Ravanelli</i>	soccer player
<i>Ziggio</i>	<i>Ziggiotti</i>	personal communication

All the accorciamenti in (1) above are formed through mapping of the base to a minimal word template. As we have seen, the Italian minimal word of nominal class has the shape of a disyllabic trochaic foot ending in a vowel. Such a generalization is captured if we posit that the template is a syllabic trochee, and the fact that it ends in a vowel is accounted for by a phonotactic restriction on word-final syllables, active on all major class native Italian words.

That the derivation of accorciamenti is achieved through mapping of the base to a syllabic trochee template (with the further condition that the resulting word end in a vowel), rather than through truncation after the first two syllables, is shown by forms like *Vale* < /Va.len.ti.na/, *Dani* < /Da.nje.le/. Here, truncation after the first two syllables would yield **Valen*, **Danie*. While we could still maintain that the final -*n* in **Valen* would be discarded because of the condition that all Italian major class words end in a vowel, nothing would prevent the derivation of unattested **Danie* /da.nje/, given also the existence of such words as *progenie* /pro.'dʒɛ.nje/ 'offspring', *tenue* /te.nwe/ 'tenuous'.

In the derivation of /da.ni/ from /da.nje.le/ we observe also that a glide in the base is represented by a high vowel in the accorciamento. The same happens, at least optionally, in other accorciamenti from bases containing a rising diphthong: from the personal name *Adriana* we get both *Adri* /a.dri/ and *Adria* /a.drja/, and from the noun *diapositiva* 'slide' we have both *dia* /di.a/ and *diapo* /dja.po/ (cf. [1a–b] above), and the compounds *di.a.proiettore* 'slide projector' and *di.po.teca* 'slide collection' (cf. [9] below).

The existence of pairs such as *día* and *diápo*, *Adri* and *Adria* contrasts in an interesting way with the situation we find in Spanish: here, a rising diphthong in the first syllable can never be resyllabified as two nuclei in the accorciamento, as Prieto (1992: 146) points out: from *Dio.ni.sio* Spanish derives only ['djo.ni], not *['di.o]. As, according to McCarthy and Prince (1988), only underlyingly distinctive features are copied in the process of mapping, Prieto interprets the need for glides to be copied as such in Spanish as following from the fact that glides and vowels contrast underlyingly in Spanish. The Italian facts described above would then constitute evidence that there is no underlying contrast between vowels and glides in Italian.¹⁶

16. For a discussion of this issue, see Lepschy (1978: 71–72) and Marotta (1987, 1988).

2.2. *The place of accorciamenti in Italian morphology*

Accorciamenti derived through mapping to a prosodic minimal word template are new Italian words from both a phonological and a morphological point of view. That accorciamenti are new phonological words is shown by the fact that they can display low mid vowels (cf. the transcription of the relevant words in [1ci]), which occur only in syllables which bear primary word stress. They are new morphological words because they can undergo inflection, derivation and compounding, as we will see in the following sections.

2.2.1. *Inflection of accorciamenti.* Accorciamenti maintain the grammatical category (normally noun, sometimes adjective) and the gender of their base. The inheritance of their base's gender is particularly evident in minimal pairs such as *auto* (MASC) < *autobus* (MASC) 'bus' vs. *auto* (FEM) < *automobile* (FEM) 'car'.

Accorciamenti usually feed the inflectional class of invariables, which do not change their form in the plural, as the examples in (2) show:

(2) Invariable accorciamenti

Singular	Plural	
<i>il mitra</i>	<i>i mitra</i>	'the machine gun (MASC)/PL'
<i>la moto</i>	<i>le moto</i>	'the motorbike (FEM)/PL'
<i>la bici</i>	<i>le bici</i>	'the bicycle (FEM)/PL'
<i>l'auto</i>	<i>le auto</i>	'the car (FEM)/PL'
<i>l'auto</i>	<i>gli auto</i>	'the bus (MASC)/PL'

It is quite likely that accorciamenti are treated as invariables because in the process of their derivation a conflict arises between their gender and their phonological shape.

Italian nouns prototypically end in /a/ if feminine (with a plural ending in /e/), and in /o/ if masculine (with a plural ending in /i/): 71.5% of the nouns in the Italian Basic Vocabulary belong to this inflectional class (Thornton, Iacobini and Burani 1994: 30). A smaller set of nouns, 20.6% of those belonging to the Basic Vocabulary, ends in /e/ in the singular, and in /i/ in the plural. Nouns of this class can display both genders, and are often of common gender (cf. *ponte* (MASC) 'bridge' versus *fonte* (FEM) 'source' versus *cantante* (common) 'singer'). Only 5.4% of the nouns in the Basic Vocabulary are invariable, and the remaining 2.5% display irregularities of various kinds (Thornton, Iacobini and Burani 1994: 21–23, 30).

Accorciamenti, as they inherit the gender of their base, often display a gender which is not typically associated with the vowel they end in: for example, there are masculine accorciamenti ending in /a/, such as *mitra*, and feminine accorciamenti ending in /o/, such as *auto*, *moto*, *foto*, *diapo*. A wish to re-establish the

prototypical association of a certain gender with a certain inflectional class and certain endings has sometimes led speakers to assign some *accorciamenti* to the most productive inflectional class rather than to the invariable one, with a consequent change of word ending. Cases of *accorciamenti* moved to the prototypical inflectional class for their gender are shown in (3):

(3) Change of inflectional class in *accorciamenti*:

Base	Accorciamentoo	Regularized accorciamentoo	
<i>benzina</i>	<i>benzi</i>	<i>benza</i>	'gasoline'
<i>Agnese</i>	<i>Agne</i>	<i>Agna</i>	FEM name
<i>Giacinto</i>	<i>Giaci</i>	<i>Giaccio</i>	MASC name

Further evidence of an inflectional class shift is provided by the substandard plural (often heard in Rome) *auti* 'buses', from a singular *auto* (masc.) < *autobus* 'bus'. This plural form shows that the singular *auto* is perceived as belonging to the most regular inflectional class for masculine nouns, rather than to the invariable class.

2.2.2. *Derivation from accorciamenti.* *Accorciamenti* can become bases for regular morphological processes of the concatenative kind. Widespread is the derivation of hypocoristics from *accorciamenti* of personal names or family names with the suffix /i/, which can be written as <i>, <y> or (rarely) <ie>.

Examples of this case are given in (4).

(4) Derivations from *accorciamenti* of personal or family names:

Base	Accorciamentoo	Derived accorciamentoo	Source
<i>Albenga</i> (family name)	<i>Albe</i>	<i>Albie</i>	personal communication
<i>Astice</i>	<i>Asti</i>	<i>Asty</i>	Benni (1986)
<i>Emilia</i>	<i>Emi</i>	<i>Emy</i>	personal communication
<i>Francesca</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Franci</i>	personal communication
<i>Gennaro</i>	<i>Genna</i>	<i>Genny</i>	personal communication
<i>Giandomenico</i>	<i>Giando</i>	<i>Giandi</i>	personal communication
<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>Giova</i>	<i>Giovi</i>	personal communication
<i>Ippopotamo</i> (lit. 'hyppopotamus', nickname)	<i>Ippo</i>	<i>Ippi</i>	personal communication
<i>Lorenza</i>	<i>Lore</i>	<i>Lori/Lory</i>	personal communication
<i>Loredana</i>	<i>Lore</i>	<i>Lori/Lory</i>	personal communication
<i>Margherita</i>	<i>Marghe</i>	<i>Marghi</i>	personal communication
<i>Morlando</i> (family name)	<i>Morla</i>	<i>Morli</i>	personal communication
<i>Roberto</i>	<i>Robe</i>	<i>Roby</i>	personal communication
<i>Stefania</i>	<i>Stefa</i>	<i>Stefy</i>	personal communication
<i>Tommaso</i>	<i>Tomma</i>	<i>Tommi</i>	personal communication

The suffix /i/ which appears in these derivatives is very likely a loan from English, as the orthographic variants <y> and <ie> show (<y> does not belong to the Italian alphabet, and <ie> would be pronounced /je/ or /i.e/, never /i/).¹⁷

This suffix is also occasionally used with common nouns: a particular model of garbage bin (It. 'pattumiera') produced by the Giò Style company, has been named *Patty Giò*, where *Patty* stands for *pattumiera*.

The suffix is applied also to bases which are not derived by accorciamento: for example, it is commonly used with the base *Ambra*, the name of a very popular teen-age TV star, Ambra Angiolini. Nevertheless, the bases to which /i/ can attach seem to be subject to prosodic delimitation, in that they must coincide with, and not exceed the size of, the minimal word, as the data in (5) show.¹⁸

(5) Derivations with <y>:

Base	Derivative
<i>Ambra</i>	<i>Ambry</i>
<i>Roberta</i>	* <i>Roberty</i>
<i>Angela</i>	* <i>Angely</i>
<i>Alberto</i>	* <i>Alberty</i>
<i>Giacomo</i>	* <i>Giacomy</i>

I think <y> should be described as an evaluative suffix, for two reasons: (a) its meaning is comparable to the typical meaning of suffixes of this class; (b) as the data in (6) show, the suffix does not assign a gender of its own, but takes on the gender of its base, as is typical of other Italian evaluative suffixes, such as *-ino/a*, *-one/a*:

(6) Evaluative suffixes in Italian:

<i>gatt-o</i>	<i>gatt-in- o</i>	<i>gatt-on- e</i>
cat- M	cat- DIM-M	cat- AUG-M
'he-cat'	'small he-cat'	'big he-cat'

17. Of course, it is well known that /i/ often appears in hypocoristics, diminutives and other affective words in a variety of languages, not always genetically related. For example, /i/ appears in Hungarian hypocoristics (van de Weijer 1989), as an inflectional ending in Italian baby talk (Savoia 1984: 118–119), and as a word ending in English child language (Ingram 1974, cf. section 4.2 below). This frequent occurrence of /i/ in morphological processes expressing diminution and/or affection has been interpreted as evidence in favour of a universal preference to use [+ high] sounds to encode these notions in a phonetically iconic way (cf. the discussion in Mayerthaler 1988: 70–77). This universal preference may well be a favouring factor in the adoption of the /i/ suffix in Italian hypocoristics, but the frequent usage of <y> in the orthography clearly shows that Italian speakers identify this suffix with the English one.

18. The proposed restriction can be tested only against trisyllabic names (with either penultimate or antepenultimate stress), because monosyllabic personal names and disyllabic personal names with stress on the last syllable do not exist in Italian.

<i>gatt-a</i>	<i>gatt-in- a</i>	<i>gatt-on- a</i>
cat- F	cat- DIM-F	cat- AUG-F
'she-cat'	'small she-cat'	'big she-cat'

In the same way as both masculine and feminine common nouns can take the diminutive and the augmentative evaluative suffixes *-in-* and *-on-*, which can in turn display both genders in inflected forms,¹⁹ the suffix <y> can attach to accorciamenti of both masculine and feminine nouns: *Roby* can be from both *Roberta* and *Roberto*, and the gender of the word will show up overtly only through agreement, in contexts such as *E' arrivato Roby* 'Roby has come (MASC)' versus *E' arrivata Roby* 'Roby has come (FEM)'.²⁰

The suffix <y> feeds the words derived with it into the invariable inflectional class (to which other words ending in /i/, such as singular *la crisi*/plural *le crisi* 'crisis', singular *il brindisi*/plural *i brindisi* 'toast', also belong).

Another derivative which takes an accorciamento as base is the word *qualistica*, derived from *qualità*, and defined by Forconi (1990) as "the science that considers the subjective evaluation of the quality of an object, environment and the like."

The derivation of *qualistica* is given in (7):²¹

(7) A case of derivation from an accorciamento:

Base	<i>qualità</i>
Accorciamento	<i>quali</i>
Derivation with the suffix <i>-istica</i>	[[<i>quali</i>] + <i>istica</i>]
Vowel deletion	∅
Output	<i>qualistica</i>

19. In some cases, the diminutive and augmentative suffixes *-ino* and *-one* occur in derivatives which display the opposite gender from their base: for example, *donna* 'woman (FEM)' > *donnnone* 'big woman (MASC)', *finestra* 'window (FEM)' > *finestrino* 'small window, as in a car or airplane (MASC)'. Gender change in derivatives referring to smaller or larger variants of the denotatum of the base, though, need not go hand in hand with the addition of an evaluative suffix: cf. *buco* 'hole'/*buca* 'pit', and other examples given by Serianni (1988: 95–96). In any case, the addition of an evaluative suffix through a normal, transparent word formation rule doesn't change the gender of the base; cases where a gender change occurs are idiosyncratic, and do not block the regular, gender-preserving, evaluative derivation: cf. the existence of *donnona* and *finestrina* along with *donnone* and *finestrino*.
20. The evaluative suffix <y> is probably more commonly used with feminine bases, but is in no way banned from masculine bases, as forms such as *Genny* < *Gennaro* prove.
21. The suffix *-istica* is quite productive in modern Italian to form names of sciences (Iacobini and Thornton 1992: 40). It has to be analyzed as a suffix in itself, rather than as a combination of *+ista* and *+ica*, because it often applies to bases which have no derivative in *-ista*: cf. *insiemistica* 'set theory' < *insieme* 'set', **insiemista*.

Accorciamenti can also be prefixed. Quickly perusing three Italian dictionaries of neologisms (Cortelazzo and Cardinale 1989; Forconi 1990; Quarantotto 1987), I found two accorciamenti prefixed with *anti-*, a prefix which is very productive with nominal bases. These are shown in (8):

(8) Prefixed accorciamenti:

Prefixed accorciamento	Accorciamento	Base
<i>antipolio</i> 'vaccine against poliomyelitis'	<i>polio</i> 'poliomyelitis'	<i>poliomielite</i>
<i>antiero</i> 'drug against addiction to heroin'	<i>ero</i> 'heroin'	<i>eroina</i>

2.2.3. *Accorciamenti in compounds.* Accorciamenti are also found as first members of compounds.²² Some of them are attested only in this function. Relevant examples are given in (9), again distinguishing three subclasses, as in (1) above.

(9) Accorciamenti as first members of compounds:

a. Accorciamenti in which the right edge of the output string does not coincide with a morphological boundary present in the base:

Compound	Base		Source
<i>atobomba</i>	<i>atomica + bomba</i>	'atomic bomb'	Quarantotto (1987)
<i>cartolibreria</i>	<i>cartoleria + libreria</i>	'stationery and books store'	
<i>cattocomunista</i>	<i>cattolico + comunista</i>	'catholic communist'	
<i>diapoteca</i>	<i>diapositiva + -teca</i>	'slide collection'	Zingarelli (1994)
<i>diaproiettore</i>	<i>diapositiva + proiettore</i>	'slide projector'	Zingarelli (1994)
<i>elibus</i>	<i>elicottero + (auto)bus</i>	'helicopter bus'	
<i>eliporto</i>	<i>elicottero + (aero)porto</i>	'heliport'	
<i>eurocomunismo</i>	<i>europeo + comunismo</i>	'european communism'	
<i>fantascienza</i>	<i>fantasia + scienza</i>	'science fiction'	
		[lit. fantasy + science]	
<i>farmatruffa</i>	<i>farmaceutica + truffa</i>	'pharmaceutic fraud'	TG1, 17/5/94
<i>liquigas</i>	<i>liquido + gas</i>	'liquid gas'	Migliorini (1963b)
<i>narcotraffico</i>	<i>narcotici + traffico</i>	'drug traffic'	
<i>palaghiaccio</i>	<i>palazzo del ghiaccio</i>	'skating rink'	
		[lit. palace of ice]	
<i>pantacollant</i>	<i>pantaloni + collant</i>	'leggings'	
		[lit. slacks + tights]	
<i>petrodollari</i>	<i>petrolio + dollari</i>	'oil dollars'	
<i>plutomassogiudaico</i>	<i>pluto + cratico massone giudaico</i>	'plutocratic + freemason + jewish'	
<i>polimafia</i>	<i>politica + mafia</i>	'politics + mafia'	Forconi (1990)

22. A tendency to use accorciamenti as first members of compounds was already noticed by Migliorini (1963a).

<i>pubblifobo</i>	<i>pubblicità + -fobo</i>	'fearful of advertising' [lit. advertising + -phobe]	²³
<i>pubbli-maieutico</i>	<i>pubblicitario + maieutico</i>	'commercial+maieutic'	Patrizio Roversi, <i>Cuore</i> , 1 ^o /11/93
<i>pubblimania</i> ²⁴	<i>pubblicità + mania</i>	'commercials frenzy'	Forconi (1990)
<i>raviotortellini</i>	<i>ravioli + tortellini</i>	'kind of pasta'	Migliorini (1963a)
<i>ristobar</i>	<i>ristorante + bar</i>	'restaurant + coffee shop'	Migliorini (1963b)
<i>ristobirreria</i>	<i>ristorante + birreria</i>	'restaurant + pub'	Forconi (1990)
<i>robocameriere</i>	<i>robot + cameriere</i>	'robot + waiter'	
<i>seggiovia</i>	<i>seggiola + via</i>	'chair lift' [lit. chair + way]	
<i>vapoforno</i>	<i>vapore + forno</i>	'steam oven'	
<i>velobus</i>	<i>veloce + (auto?)bus</i>	'fast bus'	Forconi (1990)

- b. Accorciamenti where the right edge of the output string does coincide with a morphological boundary present in the base, but the meaning of the accorciamento coincides with the meaning of the whole base:

Compound	Base		Source
<i>buroitaliano</i>	<i>burocratico + italiano</i>	'bureaucratic + italian'	Forconi (1990)
<i>bromaterialismo</i>	<i>burocratico + materialismo</i>	'bureaucratic + materialism'	Forconi (1990)
<i>democristiano</i>	<i>democratico + cristiano</i>	'democratic + christian'	
<i>discobar</i>	<i>discoteca + bar</i>	'discothèque + bar'	Forconi (1990)
<i>pornocassetta</i>	<i>pornografica + cassetta</i>	'pornographic + cassette'	Forconi (1990)

- c. Accorciamenti from personal and family names

Compound	Base	Source
<i>Cattagas</i>	<i>Cattaneo + gas</i>	Migliorini (1963b)

Examples like *diapoteca* and *pubblifobo* show that accorciamenti can participate not only in native, but also in semi-neoclassical compounding, acting as first members of compounds whose second member is a neoclassical bound root such as *-teca* and *-fobo*.

2.2.4. *Accorciamenti and suffix deletion.* Italian has at least two rules of suffix deletion.

The first rule deletes certain suffixes (for example, *-ia*) before the suffix *-ico*: cf. *prosodia* 'prosody' → *prosodico*/**prosodiico* 'prosodic' (Scalise 1983: 309).

The second rule applies to adjectival compounds formed by two adjectives,

23. This word appears in an ad printed on the back of the Rome public transportation tickets in September 1994.

24. Title of a TV show.

deleting the suffix in the first member and substituting it with *-o*.²⁵ Examples are *austro-ungarico* 'Austro-Hungarian' (< *austriaco* 'Austrian' + *ungarico* 'Hungarian'), *ortofrutticolo* 'concerning the cultivation of fruit and vegetables' (< *orticolo* 'horticultural' + *frutticolo* 'concerning fruit cultivation'), *agro-minerario* 'concerning agriculture and mining' (< *agrario* 'agricultural' + *minerario* 'concerning mining'). This rule was first described by Migliorini (1963a: 30–31), who analyzes the *-o* appearing in place of the suffix as an imitation of the *-o* appearing in compounds of Greek origin (Migliorini 1963a: 32).²⁶

In this section, I will claim that a number of words which have traditionally been interpreted as instances of a suffix deletion process are better accounted for if interpreted as compounds whose first member has undergone accorciamento.

The relevant words are listed in (10).

(10) Compounds with putative suffix deletion in the first member

Compound	Bases		Source
a.			
<i>nazifascista</i>	<i>naz+ista + fasc+ista</i>	'nazist + fascist'	
<i>fascirazzista</i>	<i>fasc+ista + razz+ista</i>	'fascist + racist'	<i>Cuore</i> , 8/11/93
b.			
<i>qualunfascismo</i>	<i>qualunqu+ismo + fasc+ismo</i>	'qualunquismo + fascism'	Quarantotto (1987)
<i>ricetrasmittente</i>	<i>ricev+ente + trasmitt+ente</i>	'receiver + transmitter'	
<i>quali-quantitativo</i>	<i>qualit+ativo + quantit+ativo</i>	'qualitative + quantitative'	RM, 45, Rome
<i>ferrotranviere</i>	<i>ferrov+iere + tranv+iere</i>	'railman + bus conductor'	
<i>postelegrafonico</i>	<i>postale + telegrafonico</i>	'mail and telegraph worker'	

Most of these words are also discussed by Scalise (1983: 311–315). Scalise argues for a version of the suffix deletion rule applying in compounds that is slightly different from Migliorini's. He extends the domain of the rule beyond adjectival compounds, to the whole (independently established) set of "*composti*

25. The two adjectives may but need not have identical suffixes; the identity of the two suffixes is considered an "optional condition" on this rule by Scalise (1983: 313–315).

26. A reviewer asks to show that this *-o* is not the masculine singular marker. This is proven by the fact that this *-o* always appears word-internally, in a position which does not usually contain inflectional endings. Besides, in those highly marked cases in which an inflectional marker does appear word-internally in Italian, it is subject to agreement: for example, the noun *capo* 'head, boss' in *capostazione* 'station headmaster' inflects for the plural: *i capistazione*. Accorciamenti of adjectives in *-o* never show agreement: *l'impero austroungarico* 'the Austro-Hungarian Empire (MASC SG)', *la monarchia austroungarica* 'the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (FEM SG)', **la monarchia austroungarica* (with feminine marker on the first member of the compound adjective), *i soldati austroungarici* 'the Austro-Hungarian soldiers (MASC PL)', **i soldati austroungarici* (with masculine plural marker on the first member of the compound adjective), *le truppe austroungariche* 'the Austro-Hungarian troops (FEM PL)', **le truppe austroungariche* (with feminine plural marker on the first member of the compound adjective).

stretti' (strict compounds). According to Scalise's analysis, moreover, the substitution of the deleted suffix with *-o-* is only one of two possible readjustment rules applicable, the other one being the deletion of one or more segments to eliminate an inadmissible consonant cluster. Scalise's analysis of some relevant cases is shown in (11).

(11) Readjustments after suffix deletion in first members of compounds according to Scalise (1983: 311–315):

- a. Insertion of *-o-*:
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>agr[ario] + miner[ario]</i> | <i>*agrminerario</i> | <i>agrominerario</i> |
| 'agricultural + concerning mines' | | |
- b. Segment deletion to achieve simplification of inadmissible clusters:
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ricev[ente] + trasmitt[ente]</i> | <i>*ricevtrasmittente</i> | <i>riceØtrasmittente</i> |
| 'receiver + transmitter' | | |
| <i>post[ale] + telegrafonico</i> | <i>*posttelegrafonico</i> | <i>posØtelegrafonico</i> |
| 'postal + telegraphic' | | |

I do not agree with the analysis in (11). Its most unsatisfying aspect, according to me, is the fact that it posits two entirely different solutions (readjustment rules, or repair strategies) for one and the same problem, namely the elimination of inadmissible segment clusters arising from postulated suffix deletion.

Let us examine the status of the two solutions one by one.

The replacement of a deleted suffix by *-o-* is a widely attested phenomenon in Italian (as well as in many other Indo-European languages containing scientific terminology of Greek origin). It is important to point out that its occurrence is by no means limited to disyllabic bases, as the examples in (12) show:

(12) Cases of *-o-* insertion in bases longer than two syllables:

<i>anarco-socialista</i>	<i>anarchico-socialista</i>	'anarchist-socialist'
<i>italo-austriaco</i>	<i>italiano-austriaco</i>	'Italian-Austrian'
<i>lacero-contuso</i>	<i>lacerato-contuso</i>	'tattered-bruised'
<i>vegeto-minerale</i>	<i>vegetale-minerale</i>	'vegetable-mineral'
<i>cerebro-spinale</i>	<i>cerebrale-spinale</i>	'cerebral-spinal'

The other readjustment rule proposed by Scalise, segment deletion to achieve cluster simplification, on the contrary, seems an *ad hoc* procedure.

There are cases in which neither rule is able to account for the observed data. The words in (10a), which are clearly derived from adjectival compounds containing two identical suffixes, display neither the replacing *-o-* nor cluster simplification (which would yield **nafascista* < **na/dzʃ/ascista*, **farazzista* < **fa/ʃr/azzista*). Actually, it cannot be maintained that these words are formed through suffix deletion, as the */i/* appearing at the end of the first member is clearly a leftover part of the suffix *-ista*, and its appearance would be left unexplained if we assumed that the suffix has been deleted.

Under an analysis which posits that the first members of these compounds

have undergone *accorciamento*, that is, a rule of Prosodic Morphology which has reduced them to the minimal word size, as in the cases in (9), the /i/ appearing in the words in (10a) is explained, and all the different cases in (10) are accounted for by one and the same rule, with no need to posit such a powerful and unconstrained rule as that of segment deletion. The rule of suffix substitution by *-o-* insertion, on the other hand, remains untouched by the previous discussion, and is in fact necessary to account for the cases in (12) as well as for many cases of compounds with a disyllabic first member, such as *agrominerario*.

Two forms require further comment. In *qualunfascismo*, the condition that the minimal word should end in a vowel appears to have been relaxed. This is quite unproblematic, in view of the fact that the /n/ in the first member of the compound does not occur "word-finally" in the strictest sense.²⁷ The other word requiring further explanation is *postelegrafonico*, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.5. *Accorciamenti and haplology*. Scalise (1983: 302–307) has described haplology in Italian as a rule which has the compound word as its domain, and has the effect of deleting an open syllable if the following one, which may be open or closed, has the same onset.

For some compound words, the result of compounding an *accorciamento* with a whole word is indistinguishable from the result of haplology applying to a two-word compound with the modifier on the left. Relevant examples are given in (13):

(13) *Accorciamenti as first members of compounds or haplology?*

Compound	Bases		Source
<i>musicassetta</i>	<i>musica + cassetta</i>	'cassette'	
<i>furgonoleggio</i>	<i>furgoni + noleggio</i>	'van rental'	Forconi (1990)

I propose to interpret *postelegrafonico* as the result of haplology applied to a compound whose first member is an *accorciamento*, along the lines of (14):

(14) *Derivation of postelegrafonico:*

Bases	<i>postale + telegrafonico</i>
Accorciamento	<i>posta + telegrafonico</i>
Haplology	<i>pos Ø + telegrafonico</i>
Output	<i>postelegrafonico</i>

27. Moreover, /n/ is tolerated word-finally in Italian in function words and words that have undergone postlexical phonological processes (cf. note 6 above). Migliorini (1963a) also notes the form *socialcomunista* 'socialist + communist', which he analyzes as formed by suffix deletion in the first member, but that could equally well be accounted for by our analysis: also /l/ is allowed word-finally in function words and as a result of postlexical phonological rules.

The derivation in (14) accounts for the form *postelegrafonico* without recurring to the segment deletion rule proposed by Scalise and discussed in section 2.2.4.

If (14) is indeed the correct derivation for *postelegrafonico*, this is evidence that hapology applies also to compounds whose first member is an *accorciamento*.

2.2.6. *The semantics of accorciamenti*. From the semantic point of view, most often *accorciamenti* are simply variants of their base lexeme, which occur in given morphological and stylistic conditions.²⁸ In this case, their status is similar to that of learned (Latin and Greek) bound stems, which according to Scalise (1983: 189) can be considered "secondary entries" within the lexeme of the corresponding native word: so, in the same way as *oftalmo-* would be a secondary entry of *occhio* 'eye', *bici* would be a secondary entry of *bicicletta* 'bicycle', *eli* of *elicottero* 'helicopter', and so on. Many *accorciamenti* share with learned stems the status of bound morphs, used as initial members of compounds (cf. section 2.2.3 above).

Sometimes, though, an *accorciamento* develops a meaning of its own, which does not coincide completely with the meaning of its base. This is the case, for example, of *pala-*: while the base *palazzo* can refer to any big building, including apartment buildings, noble mansions in a city centre, and office buildings, *pala-* has developed the restricted meaning of "hall for public performances or commercial displays", as words like *palasport*, *palaghiaccio*, *Palatrussardi* (owned by Nicola Trussardi) show. Another *accorciamento* which is developing a restricted meaning is *catto-*, from *cattolico* 'Catholic': it originally occurred only in *cattocomunista*, a word designating people who were Catholic and communist at the same time; this word came to develop a pejorative connotation in Italy, so that now *catto-* is used rather in the pejorative sense of "extremely conservative, right wing Catholic". Its differentiation from the meaning of the base is observable in the occasional creation *cattocattolico*, applied to the extremely conservative Catholic president of the Italian House of Representatives, Irene Pivetti.

28. Migliorini (1963a) clearly recognizes that the semantics of *accorciamenti* is the same as that of the original whole word: he writes that "some 'elements', which go back to Greek adjectives and adverbs, tend to step away from their ancient meaning, to serve as a summary ('*compendio*') of a modern noun: for example, *microchirurgia* means 'microscopic surgery', not 'little surgery', *microlettore* is a 'machine to read microfilms'" (Migliorini 1963a: 27, my translation; cf. also Migliorini 1963a: 51).

3. The minimal word as prosodic delimiter: Verb-verb compounds

In section 2 we saw cases in which the Italian minimal prosodic word operates as a template to which the output of a morphological rule of *accorciamento* conforms. In this section we will examine cases in which the minimal prosodic word functions as a delimiter, specifying the class of bases to which a morphological process can apply.

We have already noticed (cf. section 2.2.2 above) that the suffix <y> attaches only to *accorciamenti* or to bases which already coincide with a disyllabic trochee ending in a vowel.

Another word-formation process of Italian seems to be restricted to prosodically delimited, disyllabic bases: the formation of reduplicating verb-verb compounds. These compounds are nouns which indicate the hasty and disordered or reiterated performance, usually by a multitude of agents, of the action designated by the verb. The relevant examples are given in (15):

(15)	Verb-verb compounds	Base	
a.	<i>fuggifuggi</i>	<i>fuggire</i>	'to escape, to flee'
	<i>pigiapigia</i>	<i>pigiare</i>	'to push'
	<i>rubaruba</i>	<i>rubare</i>	'to steal'
	<i>scappascappa</i>	<i>scappare</i>	'to escape, to flee'
	<i>serraserra</i>	<i>serrare</i>	'to close, to lock'
	<i>bollibolli</i>	<i>bollire</i>	'to boil'
	(data from Tollemache 1945)		
	<i>copia copia</i> ²⁹	<i>copiare</i>	'to copy'
b.	* <i>vava</i>	<i>andare</i>	'to go'
	* <i>fafa</i>	<i>fare</i>	'to do, to make'
	* <i>arrivaarriva</i>	<i>arrivare</i>	'to arrive'

The non-existing forms in (15b) are semantically interpretable, but impossible because their bases are under- or oversized with respect to the disyllabicity requirement.

4. Hypocoristics

Hypocoristics represent another group of Italian nouns whose phonological shape is a trochaic, disyllabic foot ending in a vowel (that is, the same minimal

29. Seen on a poster in the Department of Sociology at the University of Rome, in May 1994, referring to widespread illegal duplication of the key to the room where the xerox-machine is kept.

word template which is used for creating *accorciamenti*).

In fact, the *accorciamenti* of proper names, nicknames and family names discussed in section 2 are also hypocoristics; but if we examine the full range of Italian hypocoristics we encounter derivational types different from *accorciamenti*.

4.1. Basic data

The first type of hypocoristics different from *accorciamenti* is illustrated in (16) below. In those types of formations, the hypocoristic coincides with the two final syllables of its base: (16a) shows derivations from simple bases (for example, *Margherita* > *Rita*), while (16b) illustrates derivations from bases which contain a diminutive suffix, usually *-ino*, but sometimes *-uccio* or *-ello* (for example, *Giovanni* > *Giovannino* > *Nino*, *Guido* > *Guiduccio* > *Duccio*).

(16) Hypocoristics coinciding with the two final syllables of their base:

a. From simple bases:

Hypocoristic	Base	Source
<i>Tore</i>	<i>Salvatore</i>	
<i>Tano</i>	<i>Gaetano</i>	
<i>Tilde</i>	<i>Clotilde</i>	
<i>Cesca</i>	<i>Francesca</i>	
<i>Cetta</i>	<i>Concetta</i>	
<i>Cola</i>	<i>Nicola</i>	
<i>Cleto</i>	<i>Anacleto</i>	
<i>Berto</i>	<i>Roberto</i>	
<i>Betta</i>	<i>Elisabetta</i>	
<i>Dolfo</i>	<i>Rodolfo</i>	
<i>Sandro</i>	<i>Alessandro</i>	
<i>Vanni</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	
<i>Vico</i>	<i>Lodovico</i>	
<i>Melo</i>	<i>Carmelo</i>	
<i>Mena</i>	<i>Filomena</i>	personal communication
<i>Nando</i>	<i>Ferdinando</i>	
<i>Nora</i>	<i>Eleonora</i>	
<i>Lena</i>	<i>Maddalena</i>	personal communication
<i>Lia</i>	<i>Rosalia</i>	
<i>Rina</i>	<i>Caterina</i>	personal communication
<i>Rena</i>	<i>Nazarena</i>	personal communication
<i>Rita</i>	<i>Margherita</i>	
<i>Renzo</i>	<i>Lorenzo</i>	

b. From bases with a diminutive suffix:

Hypocoristic	Base ³⁰	Other hypocoristics	
<i>Pino</i>	<i>Giuseppe</i>	<i>Puccio</i>	
<i>Tino</i>	<i>Augusto</i>		
<i>Dino</i>	<i>Aldo, Guido</i>	<i>Duccio</i>	
<i>Gino</i>	<i>Luigi</i>		
<i>Ghino</i>	<i>Ugo, Arrigo</i>	<i>Guccio</i>	
<i>Sina</i>	<i>Teresa</i>		
<i>Mino</i>	<i>Cosimo</i>		
<i>Nino</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>Nuccio</i>	<i>Nello</i>
<i>Lino</i>	<i>Angelo</i>		
<i>Rino</i>	<i>Gaspare</i>		

At first glance, one could suppose that these hypocoristics are formed in the same way as *accorciamenti*, except for the fact that the base is mapped to the template from right to left instead of left to right. This hypothesis, however, fails against the data in (17), which show a systematic gap.

(17) Proper nouns stressed on the antepenultimate, which have no hypocoristic coinciding with the final part of the base:

<i>Agata</i>	* <i>Gata</i>	
<i>Angelo</i>	* <i>Gelo</i>	
<i>Barbara</i>	* <i>Bara</i>	
<i>Candido</i>	* <i>Dido</i>	
<i>Carminè</i>	* <i>Mine</i>	
<i>Cesare</i>	* <i>Sare</i>	
<i>Davide</i>	* <i>Vide</i>	
<i>Elena</i>	* <i>Lena</i>	cf. <i>Maddalèna</i> → <i>Lena</i>
<i>Ettore</i>	* <i>Tore</i>	cf. <i>Salvatóre</i> → <i>Tore</i>
<i>Giacomo</i>	* <i>Como</i>	
<i>Massimo</i>	* <i>Simo</i>	cf. <i>Simóne</i> → <i>Simo</i> , <i>Teresina</i> → <i>Sina</i>
<i>Stefano</i>	* <i>Fano</i>	
<i>Annibale</i>	* <i>Bale</i>	
<i>Cristoforo</i>	* <i>Foro</i>	

It appears from the data in (17) that nouns stressed on the antepenultimate have no hypocoristic coinciding with the final two syllables of the base. If we suppose that the hypocoristics in (16) are derived by mapping the base to the template from right to left and reprosodization, the absence of forms such as those in (17) cannot be explained. But if we assume that the hypocoristics in (16) are derived through prosodic circumscription of the rightmost foot of the base, the data in (17) follow from the assumption, as the starred forms do not coincide with the rightmost foot of the base under any analysis.

30. Often more than one base is a possible source for a given hypocoristic of this kind. For reasons of space, here I only list one or two possibilities.

In fact, two metrical structures can be posited for the antepenultimately stressed words of Italian: (18a) assumes a lexically marked final syllable extrametricality, while (18b) assumes the existence in Italian of ternary (dactylic) feet.

(18) Two hypotheses on the representation of antepenultimately stressed words in Italian:



Deciding between the two structures in (18) involves commitment to a position regarding the existence of ternary feet, and reconsideration of all the stress facts of Italian, a task far beyond the purpose of the present paper. I wish only to point out some data concerning hypocoristics, which seem to bear evidence in favor of hypothesis (18b). The relevant data are given in (19):

(19) Antepenultimately stressed hypocoristics from antepenultimately stressed bases:

Base	Hypocoristic
<i>Ippolito</i>	<i>Pòlito</i>
<i>Domenico</i> ³¹	<i>Ménico</i>
<i>Cristofano</i>	<i>Tòfano</i>
<i>Annibale</i>	<i>Nibale</i>
(attested by Orlando 1932, 1933)	

These data seem to confirm the hypothesis that “right to left” hypocoristics are created through circumscription of the rightmost foot in the base, whether trochaic or dactylic. We can account for the fact that observable dactylic hypocoristics are few by observing that most antepenultimately stressed base nouns, such as *Angelo*, *Barbara*, *Giacomo*, *Stefano*, are trisyllabic, so that circumscription of the rightmost foot would apply vacuously to them, yielding a result coincident with the full base.

4.2. Hypocoristics and child language

Italian hypocoristics have been the topic of several traditional studies (Fanfani 1878; Flechia 1879; Piccoli 1931; Orlando 1932, 1933).³² These authors

31. *Domenico* has an irregular lexicalized hypocoristic, *Nico*.

32. I have not been able to locate copies of Fanfani (1878) and Flechia (1879), which are summarized by Orlando (1932, 1933).

usually put together accorciamenti of proper names, hypocoristics created through prosodic circumscription, and other kinds of hypocoristics. Their analyses differ slightly as to the number of types they recognize, but agree in the terminology used to describe the observed phenomena: the terms used represent the wish to explain hypocoristic formation as the result of regular phonetic laws of the same kind as those operating diachronically.

As an example, I present in (20) the classification of hypocoristics proposed by Orlando (1932, 1933), which is the most accurate one found in the older literature.

(20) Types of Italian hypocoristics according to Orlando (1932, 1933):

Type	Procedure	Examples
I	Apheresis	Berto < Umberto
II	Apheresis and regressive assimilation	Pepe < Giuseppe
III	Syncope	Lenzo < Lorenzo
IV	Apheresis and syncope	Bico < Alberico
V	Apocope	Cate < Caterina

The problem is that the five types postulated by Orlando do not exhaust the typology of Italian hypocoristics. Even if we limit our search to disyllabic trochaic hypocoristics, we can easily find examples which do not fall within any of Orlando's types, as the data in (21) show.

(21) Italian hypocoristics which are not explained by any of the hypotheses discussed so far:

<i>Teta</i>	<i>Teresa</i>	<i>Mimma</i>	<i>Emilia, Domenica</i>
<i>Titti</i>	<i>Tiziana</i>	<i>Mimmi</i>	<i>Maria</i>
<i>Toto</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Mimmo</i>	<i>Domenico, Emilio</i>
<i>Dado</i>	<i>Edoardo, Claudio</i>	<i>Memo</i>	<i>Guglielmo</i>
<i>Ciccio</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Memmo</i>	<i>Domenico</i>
<i>Chicco</i>	<i>Enrico, Francesco, ...</i>	<i>Milli</i>	<i>Emilia</i>
<i>Checco</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Lilli</i>	<i>Elisabetta</i>
<i>Ghigo</i>	<i>Enrico</i>	<i>Lalla</i>	<i>Laura</i>
<i>Foffi</i>	<i>Fortunata</i>	<i>Lallo</i>	<i>Alessandro</i>

These hypocoristics display many characteristics which are typical of child language and baby talk. The relation of these forms with child language has been recognized by a number of scholars, and particularly by the Italian dialectologist Clemente Merlo, in his editorial notes (appearing between square brackets) to the papers by Piccoli (1931) and Orlando (1932, 1933), published in the journal *L'Italia dialettale*, which Merlo directed. While Piccoli doesn't even mention the hypothesis of an origin in child language for his "vezzeggiativi di persona" (personal endearings), and Orlando only concedes that a tendency to brevity is "in perfect agreement with what happens in family or child language" (Orlando 1932: 13), Merlo, in commenting Orlando's paper,

notes that child language must have had the greatest role in the origin of hypocoristics.

In fact, all the forms in (21) can be explained by invoking phonological processes independently observed in child language. A list of such processes is given in Table 1.

It is clear that many of the processes observed in child language³³ are also found in the derivation of hypocoristics. Syllable reduplication, consonant harmony, cluster simplification, stopping and weak syllable deletion are all attested in the hypocoristics listed in (21).

Why should we prefer to identify some hypocoristics with products of child language, instead of trying to establish synchronic phonological or prosodic morphological rules to account for them?³⁴

I think the rules to be established would appear very much *ad hoc*, and unable to capture generalizations valid for more than a few words each; on the contrary, the child language hypothesis is both descriptively and explanatorily adequate. On the descriptive side, phonological processes of child language characterize the derivation of hypocoristics better than processes of the kind proposed in (20), which are unable to account for some observed forms. As for the explanatory side, the reasoning is as follows. Familiar forms of proper names are among the first words learned by children, and are therefore particularly likely to undergo phonological processes typical of child language. Some of these processes can be explained by taking into consideration the perceptual limitations of young children. For instance, Ingram (1974: 54) proposes the following account of the occurrence of reduplication and diminutive forms in child language:

In the earliest stages, REDUPLICATION and DIMINUTIVE³⁵ do not have morphological value, but are attempts to represent syllabic noise. [...] The child compensates for the inability to appropriately represent or produce the second syllable of the word by repeating the initial syllable. The phenomenon is defended by the fact that most of a child's reduplications represent adult words of more than one syllable (Ingram 1974: 54).

The reason why some child language forms, among which most notably hypocoristics, become part of the adult language, is that these forms establish themselves, in the child's lexicon, as the phonological representation of the

33. Most of the processes typical of child language are also found in baby talk (cf. Savoia 1984).

34. This course is taken by Plénat (1984) for French hypocoristics similar to the Italian ones examined here.

35. "DIMINUTIVE is a ... process that occurs with children learning English where an [i] vowel is added to the end of a word, often accompanied by partial reduplication of the initial consonant, for example, [babi] for *blanket*" (Ingram 1974: 54).

Table 1. *Phonological processes observed in child language*

Processes observed in Italian: (data from Bortolini Ricceri and Sacerdoti 1986)

Group	Process	Example	
Processes simplifying word and syllable structure	Deletion of unstressed syllable	<i>banana</i> → [ˈnana]	
		<i>pistola</i> → [ˈtola]	
	Consonant Harmony	<i>giocattoli</i> → [toˈtatoli]	
		<i>caffè</i> → [ˈfɛfɛ]	
		<i>cesto</i> → [ˈtʃɛʃto]	
	Reduction of consonant clusters	<i>testa</i> → [ˈtɛta]	
		<i>specchio</i> → [ˈpɛkjo]	
		<i>quadro</i> → [ˈkwato]	
	Coda deletion	<i>barca</i> → [ˈpaka]	
		<i>alberi</i> → [ˈabɛri]	
		<i>pancia</i> → [ˈpatʃa]	
	Metathesis	<i>dopo</i> → [ˈpoto]	
		<i>erba</i> → [ˈɛbra]	
	Processes simplifying the system of phonological oppositions	Stopping	<i>vino</i> → [ˈbino]
			<i>cerchietto</i> → [teˈkjetto]
Fronting		<i>frigo</i> → [ˈfrido]	
		<i>cubo</i> → [ˈtubo]	
Simplification of liquids		<i>aereo</i> → [ˈaɛjo]	
		<i>legno</i> → [ˈjɛno]	
		<i>storia</i> → [ˈstɔja]	
Devoicing of obstruents		<i>barca</i> → [ˈpaka]	
		<i>ago</i> → [ˈako]	
		<i>giorno</i> → [ˈtʃono]	

Processes observed in different languages (data from Ingram 1979)

Group	Process	Example	
Substitution processes	Stopping	Eng. <i>sing</i> → [tin]	
		Eng. <i>sea</i> → [ti:]	
	Fr.	Fr. <i>fleur</i> → [pø]	
		Fr. <i>chaud</i> → [to]	
	Eng.	Eng. <i>shoe</i> → [zu]	
		Eng. <i>call</i> → [ta]	
		Eng. <i>goose</i> → [dus]	
		Eng. <i>cou</i> → [tu]	
	Fr.	Fr. <i>chat</i> → [sa]	
		Fr. <i>leg</i> → [jek]	
	Eng.	Eng. <i>ready</i> → [wedi]	
		Eng. <i>apple</i> → [apo]	
	Assimilatory processes	Voicing	Eng. <i>tiny</i> → [daini]
			Fr. <i>poule</i> → [bu], [bubu]
Consonant Harmony		Eng. <i>duck</i> → [gʌk]	
		Eng. <i>truck</i> → [gʌk]	
		Eng. <i>steps</i> → [beps]	
		Eng. <i>tape</i> → [bejp]	
Assimilation to the stresses vowel		Eng. <i>flower</i> → [fʌwʌ]	
		Fr. <i>pomme de terre</i> → [tetet]	

Syllable structure processes	Cluster reduction			
		Eng.	<i>play</i>	→ [pe]
			<i>train</i>	→ [ten]
		Fr.	<i>clef</i>	→ [ke]
			<i>grand</i>	→ [gã]
		Eng.	<i>banana</i>	→ [nænə]
	Deletion of unstressed syllables		<i>Granola</i>	→ [owɹ]
			<i>potato</i>	→ [dedo]
		Eng.	<i>TV</i>	→ [didi]
	Reduplication		<i>water</i>	→ [wawa]
		Fr.	<i>bouche</i>	→ [bubu]
			<i>vache</i>	→ [vava]
			<i>serviette</i>	→ [üetiε]

corresponding word, and are therefore frozen, and become resistant to further phonological processes (Ingram 1979: 143). This explains why some words keep their child language form when the rest of the lexicon is produced in a form closer to the adult standard. Hoffman (1969: 366) observes that “[i]t is often possible to explain the existence of several hypocoristics from the same adult form by determining at which level of language development the form was frozen into adult speech”.

In the light of the preceding observations, we might also reconsider the position of the Italian hypocoristics presented in (16). Are they really derived through prosodic circumscription of the final foot of the base, or are they rather the product of a well established child language phonological process, the deletion of all syllables preceding the stressed one?

In favor of the Prosodic Morphology derivation we can observe that the hypocoristics in (16a) present no other signs of having undergone child language phonological processes, beyond the deletion of the syllables preceding the main stress, which can be accounted for in both theories.

On the other hand, some features of child language are displayed by hypocoristics of the kind presented in (16b): these include a diminutive suffix, and show at least a tendency to fronting and stopping: the form *Chino* /'kino/ is not attested, and *Ghino* /'gino/ is felt as an independent name; the fricative-initial forms *Fino* and *Vino* are not attested, and *Sina* is very rare. Actually, *Fino* exists as hypocoristic for *Serafino* (type 16a), but not for *Rodolfo*, *Adolfo* or the like, that is, not when *-ino* would be a diminutive suffix (type 16b). This solidarity between the occurrence of the diminutive suffix and that of other signs of child language processes might be interpreted as evidence in favor of an origin in child language for these forms, rather than in prosodic morphological processes.

The different sources of hypocoristics which have the shape of a disyllabic trochee ending in a vowel (accorciamento, prosodic circumscription of rightmost foot in the base, child language phenomena) may all be regarded as instances of the emergence of the unmarked minimal word (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1993b), which has been proved to play an active role in Italian morphology.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper I have described a number of phenomena of Italian in which the prosodic minimal word, a disyllabic trochee ending in a vowel, plays an active role. In accorciamenti, the minimal word acts as a mapping target, to which the base is reduced. In *-y* suffixation and in verb-verb compounding, the minimal word delimits the set of bases which can undergo these morphological operations. In hypocoristics, the minimal word output is obtained in some cases by circumscription of the rightmost foot in the base; in other cases it represents the

emergence of an unmarked structure through child language processes, rather than through morphological processes active in adult language.

In the course of the paper, an alternative analysis has been proposed for putative cases of suffix deletion in Italian: a number of words have been reanalyzed as the result of compounding an *accorciamento* with a full word, rather than as cases of suffix deletion in the first member of a compound, therefore eliminating the need for an *ad hoc* rule of cluster simplification.

The prosodic morphological phenomena described here provide also interesting data on the segmental and metrical phonology of Italian. The *accorciamenti* derived from bases containing rising diphthongs seem to show that a vowel/glide distinction is not underlying in Italian, as glides in the base can correspond to vowels in the *accorciamento*. The data about "right-to-left" hypocoristics from bases stressed on the antepenultimate point to the existence, in these bases, of a ternary dactylic foot, thus bearing on the issue of how the stress system of Italian should be described.

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